Anti-Carnegie

Campbell

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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Anti-Carnegie

SCRAPS AND COMMENTS

By

M. F. AND J. C. CAMPBELL

PITTSBURG
1899

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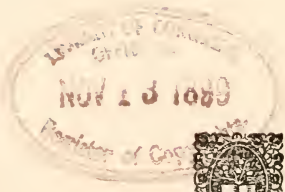

TO OUR AMERICAN SOLDIERS,
ON LAND AND ON SEA, THIS
BOOK IS AFFECTIONATELY
DEDICATED BY THE

AUTHORS

Preface

THIS little volume is a veritable history of the anti-imperial craze, which was started in Pittsburg, November, 1898, by Andrew Carnegie. The writers noted it from the first ripple, and the source from whence it came.

Does Andrew Carnegie stand by the flag of this country? He has expressed sympathy for and given encouragement to the armed bands of Filipinos, but he has neither for our American soldiers who are now

engaged in the final conquest of the Philippines, to prevent our flag from being "hauled down" from where it has been planted. The flag that shrouds the forms of our dead heroes. The flag that only waves over the land of the free.

THE AUTHORS.

Anti-Carnegie:

Scraps and Comments

"How Wisdom and Folly meet, mix and unite,
How Virtue and Vice blend their black and their white,
How Genius, th' illustrious father of fiction,
Confounds rule and law, reconciles contradiction,
I write—if these mortals the Critics should bustle
I care not, not I—let the Critics go whistle."

BURNS.

To present facts plainly a writer must be fearless and independent; not prejudiced, but impressed with

what he knows of the subject of which he treats. The subject of this book is Andrew Carnegie, born in Dunfermline, Scotland, over sixty years ago, and emigrated to America fifty years ago. Is he to-day a loyal citizen of the United States? Is he an anti-expansionist and extremist? Is he a bundle of inconsistencies and contradictions? After reading this book the public may answer these queries. The writer will simply follow Mr. Carnegie's example of freedom of speech, and show him as much respect as he has shown President McKinley—dabble in his affairs as he has dabbled in the affairs of state. Agitate him as he has agitated the

people. Condemn his principles as he has condemned the principles and policy of the President—quote as he quotes that it is "well sometimes" "to see oursel's as others see us." We bow neither to his wealth nor to himself, but will treat him as a problem to be solved, as hard maybe as the Philippine problem.

The nineteenth century about to close has been productive of mighty changes. England has advanced her conquests in every quarter of the globe. The Christian powers of Europe have been marking new boundaries and seizing upon the territories of half-civilized or barbarous

races, and America has grown from its feeble colonial state to that of a mighty Nation—"a nation among nations." Among the changes of the nineteenth century, and by no means the least, is the humiliation of Spain. At the beginning she still swayed her sceptre over an extent of territory nearly equal to the whole of South America. As it was in the old Roman dominion, her proconsuls and their dependents were enriched by the plunder of the provinces, which, in turn, set up the standard of rebellion. The Cubans struggled long to shake off the galling yoke, but it was left for Weyler to bring matters to a crisis. His policy was

to shut up the population in the towns, where they were rapidly wasted by famine and disease. We sympathized with them, but the spirit of our people was not aroused to active interference until Spanish treachery blew up one of our Government vessels, the *Maine*, and thereby destroyed many lives. Our country was quick to act; the struggle was short and decisive; victory was ours; the *Maine* was avenged, and Cuba is free.

Partyism had been hushed during the war, and the President of the United States was loyally supported by men of all parties and creeds. But when the war was over and the

white-robed angel of peace seemed to abide with us again, and the thousand isles, more or less, whose inhabitants had been in a chronic state of insurrection were also free from the tyranny of Spain—at this crisis, before the peace treaty could be ratified, a faction started up who proclaimed themselves anti-imperialists. These boding owls would, if they could, delay the development of the Philippine Islands for a whole generation. In destroying the supremacy of Spain in her colonies we incurred a grave responsibility, and the starry flag would be disgraced in the sight of all the world if we should follow the advice of the anti-imperialists, by

leaving the Philippines a prey to civil wars, or foreign aggression, instead of establishing over them a government adequate for their protection against anarchy, and training them in the paths of civilization and peace. The Filipinos must be subdued. But in the meantime their aiders and abettors, the anti-imperialists, must not be forgotten.

Let us compare the present state of affairs with that which prevailed a few short months ago, when peace prevailed. To-day intrigue, deep and mysterious, is paving the way for serious complications. The trouble is not between Republican and Democratic politicians, but there is some-

thing deeper, a strong undercurrent that is drawing in many unwary ones. The situation to-day has given that undercurrent an opportunity to work not only in the dark but in the open. Does Andrew Carnegie advocate and support legitimate authority? Does he follow God's precepts? Some years ago he said, "What a man owns is already subordinate in America to what he knows, but in the final aristocracy the question will not be either of these." It will not be asked, "Where has he shown generosity or self-abnegation—when has he been a father to the fatherless—where has he searched them out? How has he worshipped God?" But the question

on that day will be, "What has he done for his fellows, how has he served man?" The end of aristocracy appears to be a foregone conclusion. Andrew Carnegie is certainly carrying his anti-imperialism very far when he prefers to serve man rather than God. Is it because God is a Sovereign, King of kings, and has appointed kings and rulers over man, to which Carnegie and his following are opposed?

Some time before Mr. Carnegie returned to the United States he managed to meet many foreigners of high official position, with whom he freely discussed Government affairs on this side of the water, and

gave his views in regard to the war with Spain and impending results. Thus encouraged to speak, they as fully and freely expressed their views. Mr. Carnegie then felt it his duty to communicate with the authorities at Washington. As he said, "I did not fail in my duty to report to those in authority at Washington what I thought it behooved them to know." He wrote time and again, but those in authority at Washington never said a word, never gave a hint, and as he did not succeed in worming out any state secrets, it no doubt prevented him from performing a similar duty to those powers in Europe that he says "are so intensely against

our Government." From the strenuous efforts he has made to compel our Government to give up the Philippines it looks as though he acted in and for the interest of that dissatisfied element abroad, and had undertaken to reverse the engine of progress and prevent expansion of this country, for it is well known that he furnished the funds for the anti-expansion league. His present assumption of power is in keeping with that he assumed when a boy while in the employ of Thomas A. Scott, who was at that time superintendent of the Pennsylvania Railroad. Carnegie tells it in the revised and improved narrative of his life.

"One morning Mr. Scott was a little late getting to his office," and Andrew Carnegie assumed the responsibility of sending out telegrams in regard to the moving of trains, etc. "Every telegram was signed Thomas A. Scott." When Mr. Scott arrived at his office and found what the boy had done he "looked hard" at him, but "did not say a word." He generously overlooked the offence, but regarded the boy as a prodigy of assurance and expansion.

At Homestead, Pa., November 5, 1898, Mr. Carnegie began on imperialism and declared himself opposed to it. The people, without quite un-

derstanding what it meant, thought they were opposed to it also. Finally they began to look upon it as a dread thing. Imperialism—it meant for them, as presented by Mr. Carnegie, "militarism, taxation, war, and rumors of war, no work"; later some of his employees took up the subject and echoed his words. Carnegie was delighted; he wrote to them from New York through the press and expressed a desire to shake hands with them, and contemplated a visit to Pittsburg to do so.

"Have you found this, or t'other? There's more in the wind,
As by one drunken fellow his comrades you'll find."

The imperial ghost conjured up began to assume such proportions, to expand so, that at last it took tangible form, shape. The confidence the people had reposed in President McKinley began to waver. Distrust, suspicion, and opposition to a presumed policy set the country in a ferment. Mr. Carnegie invaded the Executive Mansion and addressed the President, and after leaving his presence said he hoped "if the American soldiers attempted to take control of the Philippines that the insurgents would shoot them." He then announced his determination to remain in Washington, and devote his "time and means" to accomplish

his purpose. A Scotchman keeps his word. He remained in Washington. How wrong his purpose was may be inferred from the fact that he selected for his advocate and proxy a man who, he said, "had proved himself destitute of all moral principles." Mr. Carnegie also, by some means, found a few congenial spirits in the Senate and attached himself to them, and through them succeeded in giving expression to his feelings against President McKinley. One day in the Senate Chamber "expectation stood on stilts" in anticipation of a speech from Senator Mason. An article was read by Senator Mason that smacked of Car-

negie. Mason never let go his manuscript, but applied himself closely to it; he did not seem to be quite familiar with it.

"He clenched his pamphlets in his fist,
He quoted and he hinted,
'Till in a declamation-mist.
His argument he tint it.
He gaped for 't, he graped for 't,
He fand it was awa, man;
But what his common sense came short
He eked it out wi' law, man."

The anti-imperialists became wild, murmurs of applause greeted the Senator. Mr. Carnegie was present, a much interested listener, and later made the following remarks:

"The ratification of the peace

treaty may be defeated, and certainly can be if Mr. Bryan will come out in opposition to it. If he will only advise his followers to fight in the pass and not in the open the treaty is certain of defeat. All that I hear indicates the increase of the opposition ranks, and I am quite encouraged to believe the ratification of the treaty can be defeated. According to my opinion this is the opportune time for those who oppose expansion to do their work. Only a one-third vote is required to defeat the treaty, whereas with the treaty ratified we will have to secure a majority to make our views effective. Hence I say that this is the time for Mr. Bryan

and other anti-expansionists to make their fight. Hereafter we will not enjoy the advantage over our opponents that we now do, having to meet them in the open field."

Andrew Carnegie has been suggested by his friend J. H. B. as the man to be placed in the United States Senate for various reasons. First, "He stands ready to champion the cause of the common people." What cause? The law is their champion when they need one. Second, "No one has gone so deeply into or opposed President McKinley and state affairs as Andrew Carnegie." Third, "That he will not scandalize the fair name of the State by looting

its financial institutions—nor will it ever become necessary for him to shake the plum tree in order to fill his private purse." No—but the danger is far greater. Should Andrew Carnegie be placed in the Senate and devote his "time and means" to run affairs according to his ideas, there would be danger of the Senate becoming Carnegie. A Greek philosopher (Plato) said: "We become like that which we contemplate." Carnegie compels people to contemplate him, and he has contemplated W. J. Bryan, with the inevitable result.

"Though like as was ever twin-brother to brother,
Possessing the one shall imply you've the other."

For months we have been obliged to read and re-read Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence. To read and re-read Carnegie in the speeches of Hoar, Mason, Bryan, and other lights. We have been confronted with the sayings of long-ago dead Presidents and statesmen, many of whose sayings were vague and uncertain. And it is these sayings the anti-expansionists quote and twist to suit themselves.

Faint echoes of the past, shall our Government stop to listen and not progress? The doctrines of Jefferson and Monroe, the principles of one hundred years ago, are presented as the guiding star for President

McKinley to follow. Let us briefly review Jefferson's principles and politics.

As an adroit politician and organizer he stood without a rival; "his management of persons and events for the accomplishment of the end at which he aimed was considered masterly." When a young man, only thirty-three years old, he drew up the Declaration of Independence. At that time there was no system in government; the Republic was in its infancy, trying to stand alone, but it did not stand still. Jefferson was elected President of the United States in 1801; he was popular with the people for the reason that he

opposed strong government; he declared the world was "governed too much." He was an extremist, a man of imagination; any innovation or novelty appealed to his nature. "In the face of threatened dangers from abroad, while he was President, he was timid, hesitating, and inadequate. As war governor of Virginia he was a failure." In quoting Jefferson the anti-expansionists ignore the fact that Jefferson was an expansionist, that he purchased Louisiana from France, and that Monroe negotiated for the purchase. What would America be to-day but for expansion through purchase of territory?

Why should an individual who has expanded to the extent Andrew Carnegie has, array himself against our Government, demand that it stand still, expand no farther? If Carnegie keeps on expanding there is danger of Uncle Sam being called Uncle Carnegie, irrespective of the fact that the records of Allegheny County fail to show him to be a naturalized citizen of the United States. A leading paper, the *Daily News*, of Pittsburg, has what may be called a bureau of information, which aims to solve all mysteries, even at the expense of a world of labor and pains. In its issue of February 16th of the present year it gives a full and com-

plete answer to a correspondent who asked: "Is Mr. Carnegie a citizen of the United States in the legal sense of the term?" It appears that Mr. Carnegie had given out the information that his father was naturalized in 1853 and died soon after, adding, "His naturalization while I was a minor makes me an American citizen." Yet, for all his saying, after a thorough examination of the records of all the courts in which this naturalization could have taken place, the only entry in which the name of Carnegie appears was an application by William Carnegie dated November 20, 1854, and as his death is recorded in the Allegheny Cemetery

as having taken place October 2, 1855, less than one year after his application for citizenship, it was clearly impossible for him to have been naturalized, as his two years of probation had not expired when he died. If Andrew Carnegie labors under the delusion that he is an American citizen it would be well for him to inform the public when, where, and how he acquired that citizenship, or at least when he took the oath of allegiance. And yet this man, without ever having taken the precaution to clear his record, and prove his right to the electoral franchise, has the sublime assurance to force his advice on the President of the United

States, and instruct him how to administer the government.

What is the state of the Filipinos to-day? Is it the savage state? Do the anti-imperialists object to their being brought into a civilized state? Mr. Carnegie is upholding the views held nearly two hundred years ago by Jean Jacques Rousseau, who maintained that the "natural and proper state of man is the savage state, when he possesses complete liberty," that "all men are born equal." Rousseau's views on the subject paved the way for the first French Revolution.

How the words "all men are created equal" are used to mislead

the masses! No one explains to them that in this free land it means that all are born with equal rights, and if they have intelligence, ambition, and ability, they can aspire to any goal and attain it. The majority of the masses look upon it as social equality to which they aspire, and are thereby misled by agitators and Socialists who never would practise what they preach, but they want to draw the masses to vote as they desire.

What are the imported anti-monarchists doing for or against this country to-day? They are arrayed in opposition to legitimate established government authority. The Socialists of to-day are organizing on

the ruins of the Populist party, and are paving the way for revolution. Socialists are in the Senate and standing at the door waiting to grasp power to advance Socialism and destroy representative government. Why are Carnegie and Bryan so opposed to militarism?—insisting that the Government depend on the people in time of need rather than to any extent on the "professional soldier"? Why? In time of need the Government can always depend on the professional soldier and loyal citizens; the Socialists depend on the masses, therefore they are opposed to a large standing army.

W. J. Bryan said, "Militarism is a

necessary companion of imperialism," and objects to it on the ground that it "gives the aristocracy and privileged classes an increased influence in government," and adds, "They are potent enough already." Now what reason has he to condemn aristocracy? An aristocrat cannot help being born an aristocrat; he must live and die one. All the aristocrats are not wealthy, and all the wealthy are not aristocrats. The born aristocrat cannot be confounded with the wealthy imitators. So aristocracy is a weak argument to present against militarism. With the increased obligations of this nation a large standing army is necessary, irrespective of

the money it may cost. What do the opponents of militarism care for the taxation of the people? They have other and deeper reasons for their opposition. The following extract from a Populist paper (the *Southern Mercury*, March 16, 1899) says of W. J. Bryan: "Much that Mr. Bryan says in his speeches, the editor of this paper commends as good Populist doctrine. In so far we agree, but differ as to the methods to be employed to incorporate these views and ideas into the laws of the land. Mr. Bryan thinks that this can be done through the Democratic party. The editor of the *Mercury* is not quite so confident on this point."

What theory do Carnegie and Bryan advocate? The answer lies in the definition of anarchy, which is, "Absence or insufficience of government, social and political confusion owing to the want of strong controlling power." Andrew Carnegie's anti-annexation letter was sent to the agricultural periodicals for publication and editorial comment, "to be paid for at the usual rates." That is rather significant, as during the Coxey craze the farmers were arming and drilling, particularly in and about Michigan. The agricultural paper is the medium to reach the farmer.

Mr. Carnegie's violent opposition

to the Administration caused widespread comment and conjecture, particularly when he announced his intention of remaining in Washington and personally conducting a campaign against the Administration, devoting his "time and means" to that end. Has he not carried out the social theory that every man should be a state official? Has he not acted as one of the Senate? Has he not advised and dictated to the President? Has he not caused disorder and confusion? Have not the anti-imperialists caused the Filipinos to mistrust our Government? Do they not advocate the worst social theory? Collusion between some of

the anti-imperialist and Filipino leaders resulted in the insurgents' attack on the American soldiers stationed at Manila. Do not the Filipino leaders need Christian civilized government? They sacrifice human life as indifferently as Nero did.

At Boston, February 16, 1899, President McKinley delivered an address before the Home Market Club that convinced many doubting ones all over the country that imperialism in connection with America was only a myth. He demonstrated clearly that the present policy must conform to the situation until the situation shall conform to a policy which

events and future developments will decide. To-day the world is impressed with President McKinley's wisdom and management of public affairs. His success so far and confidence that in the end all will be well is contagious. Only the few, whose personal dislike is inflamed by the dignified and unwavering course pursued by President McKinley, still hurl their poisoned arrows at him. While articles appeared in all the leading papers expressing admiration and approval of the President's Boston speech, lo! an anti-McKinley article was published, signed Andrew Carnegie, in which he said that the "Philippines were not the result of

conquest of war, but the President's own Pandora box." In writing that article it is strange that

"One trifling particular, truth, should have missed him."

About the same time a violent and abusive article against President McKinley was read by Johnson in the House. Reading from manuscript was contrary to his usual custom, and as there was no occasion for the outbreak the House was mystified.

In another article written by Andrew Carnegie and published in the *North American Review*, March, 1899, he insults our brave American soldiers. Mr. Carnegie should not

presage and contemplate, and by these tactics force others to contemplate, what he imagines the conduct of the American soldiers will be. He seems to think the army quite immoral. He says that "soldiers in foreign camps require missionaries themselves more than the natives." What a fine opinion he has of American soldiers. But he cannot understand how men can be brave, true, unselfish, and love their country enough to serve it—such feelings are foreign to his nature. But there is a freedom, cruelty and liberty about the savage state that appeals to his nature. He says "the Filipinos have just the same feelings we have."

If they have the same feelings we have why do they not want civilization? In the March number of the *North American Review* Carnegie writes: "Travelling in Southern India one day I was taken into the country. The adults working in a grove, men and women, had each a rag round their loins, but the boys and girls, with their black, glossy skins, were free of all encumbrance. This happy people wondered why we did not come and enjoy life in their favored clime," and adds, "It is just so with the Filipinos to-day. It is astonishing how much all human beings the world round are alike in their essentials." He says "the

Filipinos prefer their own civilization." Are they civilized? They are not, and could not be under Spanish rule and tyranny, and although that yoke has been lifted, read what Carnegie says in the *North American Review*, March number:

"Are the broad liberty-loving and noble liberty-giving principles of Americanism as proclaimed by President Lincoln to be discarded for the narrow liberty-denying, race-subjecting, imperialism of President McKinley? Never had this nation greater cause to extol Abraham Lincoln than on this ninetieth anniversary of his birth, and never till to-day had it cause to lament that a

successor in the Presidential chair should attempt to subvert his teaching."

Is it any wonder that blood is being shed to-day, when the Filipinos are thus led to believe that President McKinley wants to make slaves of them? But the war, with its wide-spreading desolation, we hope will soon be over. But many human beings, the Christian soldiers, and the ignorant half-civilized braves, are lying in their graves; many mothers are mourning for their sons, husbands, and brothers, and why? Because the Filipinos believed the lie that their false friends, the anti-imperialist leaders, told them, that they

were to be made slaves, and they fought for the freedom that they knew not was theirs. The Filipinos issued a proclamation in which are these words: "We will fight to the death. Coming generations will pray over our graves, shedding tears of gratitude for their freedom." No one believes that Andrew Carnegie for one instant believes what he asserts about the Filipinos being made slaves. There is not a sane man in America ignorant enough to believe such a thing.

Mr. Carnegie has made frantic appeals to the pulpit to preach anti-imperialism. He speaks of the "decline of the pulpit on theological

questions, etc." Having won over a few of the unfaithful to his side has not increased his respect for the pulpit.

"Some, having swerved, have turned aside unto vain jangling." "Desiring to be teachers of the law; understanding neither what they say, nor whereof they affirm." Among these a New York divine, who received W. J. Bryan on the Sabbath day to discuss politics with him. These preachers, instead of upholding the President and assisting him with their prayers and influence to bear the heavy burdens imposed upon him by the war, are, with Carnegie and others, doing all

they can to hamper him in the discharge of his duties. A weak or corrupt administration would have settled the Philippine question long ago to the entire satisfaction of Mr. Carnegie and his following, but to the eternal disgrace of our country. Mr. Carnegie's advice to the pulpit was discussed in a patriotic manner by Rev. Dr. E. M. Wood, an eminent Pittsburg divine. Dr. Wood said:

"Officers of the general Government and all public functionaries who administer wisely should be sustained by all good citizens, and when their administration is maligned they should be defended. It is not often

in times of national peace that one can find a more pronounced case of the abuse of high public officials than that recently by Mr. Carnegie. He speaks of the President as 'military dictator' and 'war lord,' as one likely to 'pass into history as a recreant' governed by the dictation of foreign rivals without hesitation, and doubts 'whether he had convictions upon any subject.'

"But Mr. Carnegie does not spare the President's honored Secretary, a man who filled the arduous duties of his responsible office at the Court of St. James with such pronounced ability as to be recognized as one of the first diplomats of this age. Yet

Mr. Carnegie says: 'He has made a pardonable mistake, since he has had no experience of commerce.' And more. Mr. Carnegie spares no one when he says 'the men in Washington to-day are so immersed in problems which have nothing whatever to do with the prosperity of their own country that they have no time to consider subjects bearing upon it. They have eaten of the insane root of territorial expansion in distant continents; they are dreaming dreams and chasing phantoms.'

"And now are not such expressions a sufficient justification of the Chicago *Record's* saying: 'Mr. Carnegie has lost his head'? And we have not

mentioned all that could be quoted. One more, however, will be sufficient. In case the United States is compelled to use force in pacifying the island of Cuba, in that case, says Mr. Carnegie, 'I would be glad to see the insurgents begin shooting.' Such a statement is most revolutionary and unpatriotic, and especially so when the military forces of the country have so often been called upon to protect his own property."

"But Mr. Carnegie complains because the pulpit shows any interest in the Filipinos when he says: 'Why doesn't the pulpit recognize its duty to those whom it hath seen, rather than pretend to love those whom it

hath not seen, contrary to Scripture?' As ministers, we claim that it is more than a 'pretend' in us and our people to be deeply interested in foreign missions, and if Mr. Carnegie will show the public where he has made liberal contributions to purely charitable institutions or home missionary work he will stand in a better light than he does now before the public.

"But Mr. Carnegie is on record as being opposed to the cession of the Philippine Islands to the United States."

A man to be consistent should in every way conform to his proclaimed

principles. What difference is there in outward *pomp* and *show* between Andrew Carnegie and a king? What belongs to one by heritage the other acquires by purchase. Andrew Carnegie calls himself an anti-imperialist. But Skibo Castle and town of Skibo belong to him by purchase; he imitates in every way what he condemns and buys all he can of it. In Pittsburg on Founders' Day, November 3, 1898, he played sovereign behind closed doors. Every door of the building "free to the people" was guarded by police to keep out the people. One of the people managed to pass the police. She wanted

"To watch the symptoms o' the Great,
The gentle pride, the lordly state,
The arrogant assuming."

But she was quickly ejected by the police inside. Only a woman had the courage to attempt such a feat. It was "high treason," and she had cause to be thankful that she was not punished for contempt of police. Late in the afternoon the people were permitted to enter the presence of Mr. Carnegie for a short time, after the police had seen the aristocrats safely into their carriages. Mr. Carnegie, without their knowledge, had guarded them from the people. The crowd of people on that occasion was not so great, but the num-

ber of police was. Every step you took they glared at you, they trod upon your heels. Was it a body-guard or lack of confidence in the people to conduct themselves properly? With his proclaimed ideas on equality he should not, particularly on Founders' Day, have made any distinction, but should alike have received the general public. Some parties passing through Pittsburg on that day had remained over to see the famed picture presented by Mr. Frick to the Carnegie Art Gallery. They stood outside with the people. On gaining admittance they hastened to find the picture, but on reaching the spot Mr. Carnegie was in evidence.

He stood before the picture of Christ, and was receiving the people there.

Many workingmen at Carnegie's mills complain and protest against being compelled to work on the Sabbath day. They hear the music from the Carnegie organs, while click, clack, click, clack go the mills, grinding out wealth for Carnegie, grinding the very life and joy out of the hearts of the brave toilers. Andrew Carnegie's sympathies are so occupied with the Filipinos, and his aggressiveness towards President McKinley is so great, that he has forgotten the assertion he made that "charity should begin at home and also end at home."

Who are the "fellows" he claims he is doing so much for? Who are the "men" he claims to serve? Surely he is not doing anything for our respected citizens, the workingmen. He is not giving the mill men an opportunity to cultivate their talents, among whom are many diamonds in the rough. With Carnegie's superfluous wealth, why does he not show some appreciation of them rather than waste his "time, means" and sympathies on the Filipinos, who have a champion in our humane and Christian President? What time have the mill men to benefit by the Carnegie libraries? What time have they on Saturdays,

before the evening meal, to change their soiled garments for fresh apparel, which is so essential to health and comfort? They need rest, they have home duties, and should have some pleasure and recreation also. Let Andrew Carnegie set the example, and be content to make less money. Let the mills close on Saturdays at noon. On God's day let the noisy wheels be still. Let the men be paid so they will not feel that Sunday is a day lost, but a day gained. How can men who are only half fed on poor food have brain power and strength to endure constant toil? Constant motion wears out machinery, even when well oiled.

As miasma arises from low, swampy land, so a dangerous element arises from poverty, hunger, and want. Some good and true articles have recently been written by some Populists who are really and truly sincere in their appeals for their "fellow men." But organized charity and combines have greatly increased their bitterness. They sneer at the philanthropy that rears magnificent edifices with money that should rather be paid in good living wages to the toilers. "The philanthropy of vanity and egotism that builds its monuments while it lives," that lacks even the politeness of the posthumous Tartuffe, whose etiquette bade him

wait till he was dead before he became offensive.

Mr. Carnegie says the gospel he has preached, and will preach while he lives, is that "for a man to die rich is to die disgraced." These words he has said and re-said. But we say that the day will come when the word "disgraced" will echo and re-echo back to himself, "disgraced." He

"Looks o'er proud property extended wide,
And eyes the simple rustic hind
Whose toil upholds the glitt'ring show,
A creature of another kind."

Can Mr. Carnegie die poor? Each year he gives his wife a fortune in money and property. Does he live

without ostentation? It is said that in his castle over the sea fifty servants wait to do his bidding. Every morning an organ peals out soft strains to waken him from his slumber, etc. Mr. Carnegie has said that "the epitaph to which every rich man should wish himself entitled is that seen on the monument of Pitt":

HE LIVED WITHOUT OSTENTATION AND
HE DIED POOR.

Why does Mr. Carnegie announce that he means to die poor? What is his motive? Why does he try to mislead the people and pretend to be in sympathy with them? Not

one of them could even gain admission to his presence. He only receives and associates with aristocrats and plutocrats.

And now, after all the trouble Andrew Carnegie has caused by remaining in Washington and has had his wish gratified, that the American soldiers would be shot by the insurgents, he proposes to rear to himself a monument, a free library, in Washington, where he has carried on warfare against the President of the United States, and he asks that a site be furnished, and that Congress appropriate $10,000 a year to maintain it. That means taxation for the

people. But in these days, when education is compulsory and books are so cheap that they are within the reach of all who wish to read, why does Mr. Carnegie put such vast sums in magnificent buildings and speak against the expenditure of money in behalf of human beings whom God has cast at our very feet, that they may be lifted up from degradation to civilization, that they may become a higher order of beings? But if we must have free libraries let them be revised and improved. Let a certain number of books be given to applicants each year, books that will cultivate and improve the mind. From a sanitary point of

view the promiscuous circulation of books should be condemned, and in time will be. Only the few know what unwholesome quarters the books go to and return from. On visiting at the house of a poor family the first thing that caught the eye, on entering the bare, cheerless room, was a bunch of flowers from the Phipps Conservatory; an old broken pitcher held the flowers, the only bright thing in the room. A kind neighbor who was employed at the conservatory had brought them to a young girl who was suffering from tuberculosis. On her lap lay a book brought by another friend from the Carnegie Library. The girl's cold

moist hands lay on the open book. But enough!

Many marvel how Mr. Carnegie can enjoy his wealth knowing how many poor old people there are who have no one to support or do for them, nor money to admit them to the home for the aged. The poor-house being a horror to them, they must either beg or starve. A little story will illustrate only one of many. A father and mother, who were growing old, depended on an only son for support. But he died, and the poor old woman had to seek some means of support for her crippled husband and herself. For years she carried a little basket of matches

from house to house—her feet weary when she returned to the poor old man, who always eagerly watched for her return. For years all through the spring, through the hot summer and fall we saw her, but last fall she came not. But one chill day, as if in answer to thoughts that were of her, she came. The little basket lay empty at home, and for the first time she asked for charity. The gray hair streamed over her face, blown there by the blustering wind, and a tear lay on the withered cheek. The snow from the thin scarf around her head melted, dropped, and mingled with the tear. And as she looked at the happy maid, laughing boy, and

contented mistress, a look of pain passed over her face. Did she think of her boy, her promise, and wonder how they could be so happy, and she

"Sae weary, fu' o' care!"

We know not. She only asked for food, and clothing to keep them warm at night, and said: "It will not be for long that we will want for food and warmth, for we have prayed God to take us and we think that he will take us at the same time and soon."

"I'm kneeling on the threshold,
Weary, faint, and sore,
Waiting for the dawning,
For the op'ning of the door.

Waiting till the Master
Shall bid me rise and come,
To the glory of His Presence,
To the gladness of His home.

"A weary path I've travelled
'Mid darkness, storm, and strife,
Bearing many a burden,
Struggling for my life.
But the dawn is breaking;
My toil will soon be o'er;
I'm kneeling on the threshold,
My hand is on the door."

Why does not Andrew Carnegie build free homes for old people instead of libraries for those who do not need them? But his motto is only to "help those who help themselves." How can helpless old people help themselves? He has erected

many buildings, but there is not one charitable institution among them.

Our American millionaires, and even those who are only comparatively wealthy, give much each year to charity, but they give it without ostentation or conditions. If they cared to build edifices to perpetuate their names without a trace of charity, they would be as notorious as Mr. Carnegie, who has stated that applications for charity never reach him. It is true, for he protects himself; he is like the rich old woman in a child's story book of long ago, who kept all applicants for assistance from reaching her door by beating them off with a broom. The young

men and widows who humble themselves to ask Carnegie for a small amount to start themselves in business are alike driven away, and go their way disappointed, hopeless, and wretched. Would Carnegie have the wealth he has to-day had the helping hand been refused to him when the tide in his affairs came? But the Carnegie buildings, costing hundreds of thousands, are still going up everywhere all over the land, and this anti-imperial agitator is honored and made much of for the wealth he has accumulated, for the wealth that only goes from his coffers to be stamped—Carnegie. Many people think he should not build any more

libraries than he can endow, as the people have to be taxed to maintain them. Even in Pittsburg, where his pet library is located at Schenley Park, the city has been compelled to appropriate many thousands above the amount first called for. It is now estimated that "in a little over three years the annual appropriation for this object amounts to $104,000, and from $500,000 to $1,000,000 must be furnished by the city to purchase enough additional land to provide a suitable site for the proposed annex," and the party who made the estimate truthfully remarks, "that with the expense of sustaining the additional buildings Mr. Carnegie proposes to

erect, it would soon become an unendurable incubus to the taxpayers."

Many taxpayers do not know what a large amount they have to pay for Carnegie's *free* libraries. The citizens of Atlanta, Ga., were much surprised when Mr. Carnegie offered them a library. In speaking of that gift, he said: "I have been pleased no little lately to notice the public spirit of that community; how strongly in support of the American Constitution those people are, and how in accord with the sentiments of Washington's farewell address warning us against entanglements with foreign nations. The patriotism displayed by the people of

the South at the Atlanta peace jubilee was notable. I have observed these things, and I felt that I would like to help those people if I could. I had some correspondence with our agent at Atlanta concerning the library there. Then I determined to give a building for their library if the city would agree to appropriate $5,000 annually for its maintenance. I never give anything for nothing. It is my faith to help those who help themselves. The Atlanta people agreed to do this, and I went into copartnership with the city of Atlanta. . . ."

Carnegie's motive in giving a library to Atlanta is patent. President

McKinley's speech to the people of Atlanta made such a favorable impression that Carnegie hoped by the gift to counteract it. He conveys to them the impression that they are and must be anti-imperialists. That is what he requires of them for the gift.

From an article published in the New York *World*, May 13, 1899, over the signature of Andrew Carnegie, we extract the following: "I have seen many of the most prominent public men now in London who I know have been friends of the American Republic when it has needed friends. From highest to lowest, without exception, they have

met me with expressions of deep regret that the Republic founded by Washington and his colleagues upon planes so much higher than any other state should have fallen to the level of the military states of Europe. An alliance with the Republic is now the keynote of British policy, and wisely so. But not alliance with our present industrial Republic. Our present war lord only makes himself ridiculous in the eyes of these statesmen, with three battleships at his back and only 40,000 soldiers, strutting like a peacock, as vain and just as harmless. No; it is not the present industrial Republic that England wishes to have as her ally; it is the Republic

that England sees America must become if she does not soon reverse her policy in regard to the Philippines.

"We must have a tremendous navy and a huge standing army, for Britain judges truly that into whatever enterprise the Republic goes she will not be content very long to play second fiddle. She is now only the cat's-paw of England. She could not maintain her position for a day in Manila if England withdrew her august protection.

"This is the humiliating position. It makes my blood boil as I speak of the recreant President who is the sole cause of it. He it was who

changed his mind and demanded the Philippines against the advice and wishes of most of his colleagues. Will the President permit the sacrifice of the lives of our soldiers much longer in a futile effort to conquer 1,200 islands that would not stay conquered if beaten?

"Such is the position as viewed from London.

"You ask my personal views of the future. I answer, President McKinley will not be allowed by the managers of the Republican party to continue his folly—his crime. I believe he has been already informed by those whose voice he cannot disregard that he must stop and return

to American traditions. The country has no stomach for victories over people fighting for the right of self-government.

"My forecast is that the President will get out of the Philippines and return to American principles, obtaining a shadowy protectorate of some form that will 'save his face,' and that he will then be able to appear before the Republican convention as having the Philippine question settled, having given them the same promise of independence he gave Cuba. Our party will then carry the Presidential election. If he approached the country with the war in the Philippines unsettled, and the

convention were free, it is improbable that he would get even the nomination. The weight would be too great to carry.

"The nomination, however, he has probably already secured. But the election would then be another story. If the Democratic party were to drop free silver and come out, under the leadership of the *World*, for Americanism—presenting to the people the clean-cut issue between the principles of Washington and those of McKinley—there would be no doubt of the result. Our party would be beaten, and deserve to be."

Mr. Carnegie certainly misrepresents the sentiments of the British

people. We append an article from the London *Daily Mail*, April 27th. They are evidently not in sympathy with Carnegie and his following:

"The Americans are to be congratulated warmly upon the victory which they have won at Calumpit. Now, at last, it looks as though the back of the Filipinos' resistance had been broken, and Englishmen will be particularly glad of this fact, as they alone appreciate to the full the difficulties with which their cousins had to contend.

"The victory is all the more welcome and all the more grateful to us because we have been watching with deep interest the efforts of a political

party in the United States to humiliate the nation and the Government by persuading them to a disgraceful and cowardly retreat.

"This party is insignificant in strength and influence, but what it lacks in this direction it makes up for by its lung power. It has gone to the length of endeavoring to induce American volunteers to demand their recall in the face of the enemy. To the eternal credit of these volunteers be it said that few have acted upon this treacherous and unpatriotic instigation.

"The American people may well be proud of their soldiers. By the very nature of things volunteers en-

listed for a short war with a civilized enemy are not the troops best fitted for work at a great distance from their country, or for a tedious, protracted and harassing struggle with an uncivilized foe in a tropical climate. But the determination of volunteers and regulars has been such that they have not once been worsted in battle."

From the *Review of Reviews* we quote the following:

"Following up all the unhappy influences to which our army and navy had to quietly submit without turning a finger, there came the blow from behind that did more harm than all of these local influ-

ences combined—the agitation in America in behalf of the Filipinos, and in opposition to the policy of our Government, and of the army and navy, as advised by such tried men as Admiral Dewey and General Otis. It is remarkable how quickly the idea spread, not only through the Filipino army but among the people in the distant interior, that the United States was wavering in its policy, and that it was probable that if they held out long enough and persisted in their position we would withdraw our army and give them back the islands.

"Every discordant note that was struck in America was telegraphed

or written either to Hong Kong or Manila, and found its way by first opportunity to the camps of the Filipino army and to the columns of the native press. Not satisfied, however, with the circulation given by the newspapers, what was said and done in America was printed in circular and pamphlet form and sent among the people to encourage them. If the senior Senator of Massachusetts could have witnessed the expression of satisfaction depicted on the face of every Filipino soldier when he read the sentiments expressed by that distinguished man in the halls of Congress, and then have seen the look of pain upon the

face of every American soldier when he realized that a United States Senator was inspiring the enemy opposite him, I am of the humble opinion that he would have experienced some feelings of regret at the direct effect of his argument. There is no question that the belief was prevalent among the Filipinos at the time the fighting began on February 4, that if they held out a sufficient length of time the Americans would give them what they asked. It is not my intention to cast any reflections upon the honesty and good faith of the men who have opposed our policy in the Philippines, and I do not believe that any of them have

been actuated by other than the most patriotic motives, unless, possibly, the natural tendency to make political capital out of the troubles of those in power has inspired some of the criticism or opposition."

"I heard not only Admiral Dewey and Major-General Otis, but Generals MacArthur, Anderson, Hale, Lawton, Brigadier-General Otis and Colonels Smith and Summers use terms as strong as I have on this unhappy feature of the war."

Andrew Carnegie has announced his intention of interesting himself in politics the coming fall. It is to be hoped his doing so will not prove

as disastrous as his interest in the Philippine question. He should, however, first prove that he has a legal right to take an active interest in politics on this side of the water. If he cannot do so, he had better hereafter do his voting in the Queen's dominions.

The presidential campaign of 1900 promises to be an exciting one. The disturbing element in this country who do not appreciate the prosperous condition of affairs to-day will make a fierce fight to change them by electing another President. Let all loyal citizens, irrespective of party, take an active interest in the coming campaign, and defeat the

enemies of representative government. We should also be careful to elect only good, honest, loyal men to represent us in Congress, as the machinations of traitors in the House have done and can do a deal of mischief.

Now the public may think we speak very plain,
But freedom of speech is part of the game,
For Andrew Carnegie, that old bogie man,
Will frighten us all to death,—if he can.
The imperial ghost will never be laid
'Till our Government does as Carnegie has said,
For "disgrace 'll" be our portion, and "dishonor foul,"
If from those islands our flag's not "hauled down."

He has told Uncle Sam, and that very pat,
To keep his "hand out of the Far Eastern trap";

He must not attempt to give any help,
But let each Filipino govern himself.
They can take any Friar and roast in the sun,
And can even torment a poor little Nun;
"Freedom and happiness" each one must seek,
For Carnegie said so in a most able speech.

He has said our Republic "as Sovereign may play
"But for a moment," not even a day;
For should she in earnest continue the thing,
"War and rumors of war" it will bring.
He will write, rant, and rave over questions so grave,
It seems only Carnegie our country can save;
Not content with his lot, much money to make,
He endeavors to steer our great Ship of State.

This book is a waif. It never can enter the doors of the Carnegie libraries. But those who pity the

poor, for whose benefit it is written, will take it to their homes. And those who do not, will take it also—so either way the waif will find a home.

THE END.

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